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ABSTRACT

Although the Japanese junior college was the result of post-World War II American interventions to create a post-secondary educational system along the lines of the American community college, the institutions in the two countries have taken divergent paths. Both institutions do provide a general, postsecondary education of a shorter duration. However, in contrast to the open-door admissions policies of American colleges, Japanese colleges reject 50% of all applicants on the basis of high school grades or low entrance examination scores. Similarly, while a major objective in the American colleges is the transfer function, Japanese colleges are institutions of virtual terminal education, granting certificates and preparing students for state licensing. Although they are under the control of the government, Japanese institutions are primarily financed through tuition, with government providing for barely 20% of their costs. Also, Japanese colleges are directly responsible to the national Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture, in contrast to the local boards which manage the internal affairs of American districts and colleges. The student population in Japan consists of a fairly homogeneous group of recent secondary school graduates, in contrast to the large body of adult and continuing education students in America. The most remarkable difference in Japanese junior colleges is the student body, 90% of which is female, due to the centuries long educational bias against women in Japan. Includes 45 references and charts of institutional organization. (MAB)

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**THE JAPANESE JUNIOR COLLEGE AND
THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY COLLEGE:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY**

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THE JAPANESE JUNIOR COLLEGE AND THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY COLLEGE:

A COMPARATIVE STUDY

The junior college in Japan is a uniquely Japanese institution despite U. S. interventions after World War II to recreate the Japanese educational system in an American likeness. The Japanese junior college, or tanki daigaku, contrasts sharply with several major features of the American junior, or "community," college. The American institution is dually controlled by state and local governments, offers a wide selection of courses for a varied clientele, and extends access to four-year colleges and universities through transfer, a fundamental and cherished function of its open-door policy. The Japanese junior college, on the other hand, is essentially a private institution attended largely by women, which offers college level courses and is considered a terminal course of study. The purpose of this paper is to present a brief overview of the characteristics of the American community college, a description of the characteristics of the Japanese junior college, and a discussion of the similarities and differences of the two institutions. In addition, this paper will suggest historical and cultural conditions which led the Japanese junior college on a path distinct from that of the American community college.

THE AMERICAN JUNIOR AND COMMUNITY COLLEGE. The American community college arose from the confluence of several social factors: a movement to reorganize higher education for greater efficiency, the nation's need for skilled workers, and the democratizing of educational opportunity. In a move to create more discrete functions among higher education institutions, several prominent educators in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries advocated divesting the universities of their freshman and sophomore classes so that the universities could better concentrate on research and scholarship. The new junior colleges would then take on the first two years of university instruction. With the rapid growth of

industry, business, and commerce, the need for trained technicians and white collar workers in the service areas increased, creating another vacuum for the junior colleges to fill. After World War II as education had become an American "article of faith," greater numbers of people sought college educations, and the community college became the primary mechanism for extending mass higher educational opportunity (Cohen, 1989; Diener, 1986).

In 1920, there were only 20 junior colleges, but by 1930, 450 junior colleges had sprung up in 43 states. Ten years later, the student enrollment at each of the 610 US colleges averaged 400. The number of colleges grew swiftly after World War II because of the "open-door" admissions policy, the opportunities afforded by the GI Bill, and the surge in the birth rate. In 1986, there were 1,062 public "community colleges" placed in locations convenient to population centers. Over one-third of all students in postsecondary education and one-half of all entering freshmen are now enrolled in community colleges (Cohen, 1989; Diener, 1986).

The early junior colleges were private until World War II, when there was a market shift of the locus of control to the public arena (Medsker, 1960). Not only was the public college more attuned to the diversified demands of its new, burgeoning clientele, but Americans also held the belief that equal opportunity for postsecondary education should be extended to everyone and that providing that opportunity was the responsibility of the state. By the mid-1980s, 87% of the community colleges were public (Diener, 1986).

The public aspect of the junior colleges meant adding new services and accommodating more women, minorities, workers in mid-career changes, retired people, and members of the community. The transformation of the "junior" college into the "community" college occurred with

the inclusion of a number of curricular functions in addition to courses corresponding to the first two years of a university education which are transferable to a four-year institution. The 1947 Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education set forth other basic purposes of the new community college (Bogue, 1950). According to the Report, the community college has the responsibility for career education and training for vocations and technical occupations. The community college is also responsible for community service and the continuing education of the public. The completion of liberal arts or semi-professional technical programs is awarded the Associate in Arts or the Associate in Science, the highest degree the community college confers. Certificates of completion are awarded for certain vocational programs, which differ from college to college (Bogue, 1950; Cohen, 1989).

Compensatory education, not mentioned by the President's Commission, now plays a large role in the curriculum because the open admissions policy is non-discriminating about academic skills. As the instrument of equal educational opportunity, the community college also serves, ironically, as gatekeeper through what has been described by Clark as the "cooling out function." Students with unrealistic ambitions who fail their academic work but insist on the goal of transferring to a four-year college are diverted away from the universities and eventually urged to accept a terminal program or some other channel for their aspirations (Clark, 1980).

In the late 1950s, three organizational patterns had arisen for the public two-year college--the local institution, state institution, or university extension--from which the local public community college emerged as the dominant organization (Medsker, 1960). Although many community colleges had been part of the local public school systems, all community colleges have

since been legally separated from them, and the independent district model has been widespread (Kintzer, 1980).

Most of the American colleges are supported by local taxes and state financial support. The central control of the districts is held by the state legislature through financial support; local control, through boards of trustees (Kintzer, 1980). There is considerable variation from state to state in the amount and the sources of funding. In 1986, the state provided 47% of college funding; 17% came from local sources; 16% from tuition and fees; and 10% from the federal government (Cohen & Brawer, 1989).

The policy-making body for a community college district is the board of trustees, which is either elected or appointed by a governmental agency. The chief executive officer of the district, selected by the board, may be the president of a multi-campus college or chancellor of a multi-college district. The chancellor or president may be directed by set policies created by a supra-district, state level board as well as by state legislatures, union contracts, and the change in institutional management from the bureaucratic to the "shared governance" mode, in which academic senates play a larger role (Nolan & Smith, 1976). At the campus level, vice-presidents or deans manage academic instruction, vocational-technical education, student personnel, business services (Cohen & Brawer, 1989). The third repository of authority is the faculty, who have the responsibility of determining curriculum, advising on educational policy, and recommending academic personnel. (See Appendix for organizational chart.)

The faculty of the community college typically are credentialed by holding a master's degree in a traditional discipline; few of them have had pedagogical training. In earlier years, a

number of faculty had come from the ranks of secondary schools. A 1957 survey of California junior colleges revealed that 46% of the newly hired instructors had come from high school teaching (Thornton, 1960). Whereas 9% of the faculty held Ph. D.'s in 1958, in 1987, 22% did, showing an upward drift toward higher degrees (Cohen & Brawer, 1989; Thornton, 1960).

The faculty workload varies from thirteen to more than fifteen hours of teaching per week. Part-time faculty may teach more hours, distributed among several colleges. A large percentage of the faculty are part-time; in 1987, 58% of two-year faculty were part-time (Cohen & Brawer, 1989). Recognizing that the large number of part-time faculty are detrimental to the colleges, the California State Legislature has recently mandated a reduction of the part-time to full-time ratio to 25:75.

Community college attendance grew spectacularly after World War II, from 8.4% of the traditional college-age population to 32% in 1985. After the peak year of 1979, colleges began to recruit a more diverse student population. Many were older, minority, and female. They held jobs, had families, and took courses to enhance job skills or for career advancement. With diversity came the part-time student; part-time students now comprise over 50% of all matriculants. The open-door policy of the community college also accommodated the lower-ability student. The majority of students come from the lower half of their high school cohort in ability and in socioeconomic status (Cohen & Brawer, 1989).

THE JAPANESE JUNIOR COLLEGE. The Japanese junior college was established with the restructuring of the higher educational system during the post-World War II Occupation of Japan and was inaugurated in 1951. Under the direction of the American Education Mission,

all post-secondary institutions of pre-war Japan were reorganized from a multi-track system and integrated into a new single-track university system. This reorganization was designed to eliminate the elitism of the old imperial universities and allow more students access to university educations and participation in a class mobility heavily dependent on the amount and kind of education received. Prior to the war, there were institutions for medicine, engineering, commerce, education, nondegree-granting technical and professional colleges, and women's colleges. A large number of these technical institutes and special training schools were unable to qualify for alignment with the single-track system and could not make the transition to university status; as a temporary measure, they were allowed to operate as junior colleges (Narita, 1978). Subsequently, in a policy reversal, the "Non-University Sector" was created in 1962, re-establishing a multi-track system of higher education that allowed a variety of educational opportunities (Kitamura, 1989). The one-track university system proved unresponsive to the growing demands of industry for a highly trained workforce in diversified fields (Kobayashi, 1992).

The number of Japanese junior colleges has grown from 280 in 1960 to 584 in 1989; each college enrolls between 50 and 400 students. Its small size has kept the specialized quality of the junior college in Japan; comprehensiveness has neither been necessary nor desirable because the student clientele have already pre-selected for the specialization offered by their chosen institution.

Junior colleges are unevenly divided into two sectors, the public and the private: of those 584 junior colleges, some 85% of them are private and the remainder are public, that is, national, prefectural, or municipal. In 1960, the students who matriculated at junior colleges numbered

83,457; thirty years later their ranks have swollen to 461, 849. A remarkable 91% of the junior college students are female, giving junior colleges the popular epithet of "brides' school" (OECD, 1971; Kambayashi, 1978; Kobayashi, 1992).

The curriculum of the junior college differs markedly from that of the other "short-cycle" Japanese colleges in the area of general education. General education courses are required at the junior colleges just as they are at the universities. In 1988, 25.3% of the students in junior colleges, for example, majored in humanities. Specialized subjects are compulsory as well. The major in domestic science accounts for the highest percentage of students in junior colleges at 25.5%, and teacher training, at 17.7%, is the third most popular major (Tachi, 1989a).

Courses from eleven categories form the basis of education: humanities, social sciences, general studies, science, engineering, agriculture, health, domestic science, teacher training, art, and secretarial courses. A student's course of study is arranged to enable her to acquire occupational certificates or licenses (Tachi, 1989a), but universities are the only degree-granting institutions.

The two-year programs consist of 62 "credits," twelve of which are to be taken in general education—humanities, natural sciences, and social sciences—and the rest in professional education and electives. The three-year programs require a total of 93 units, eighteen of which are in general education. Most of the courses are two-credit semester courses and students carry a credit load of seven to nine courses a semester. The credits may be applied toward the bachelor's degree, theoretically if not in practice (Department, 1990; O'Connell, 1965).

The junior colleges are centrally controlled by the national government regardless of

whether they are national, public, private colleges. Their charters are granted by the Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture; they must meet standards set by the Junior College Establishment Standards; and they must be accredited nationally.

The three types of junior college are distinguished by their founding agencies. The national junior colleges are established by parliamentary enactment (the Diet). The public junior colleges are established by prefects or municipalities through the Minister of Education with the advice of the University Chartering Council. The private junior colleges, the largest category, are established and maintained by boards of trustees. The Minister of Education, advised by the private school council, reviews the standards of the private junior colleges. All junior colleges must be granted charters by the Ministry, and the University Chartering Council makes recommendations about curricula. All three types of junior colleges are subject to all general governmental regulations (Kobayashi, 1992).

Internally, the national junior colleges are still directly responsible to the Ministry of Education; the public colleges are governed by a board of trustees appointed by the governor of the prefecture or the mayor of the municipality in which the college is located; the private college is governed by two bodies, the board of directors and the board of trustees, which includes representation from the faculty and alumni. The president and other academic officers, who are often appointed by the board of directors, are the academic administrators (Kobayashi, 1992; O'Connell, 1965). (See Appendix for organizational chart.)

Despite an internal administrative structure, the Ministry of Education through the University Chartering Council controls much of what takes place in a junior college. The

standards are prescribed; stated goals, policies, curricula must be approved; and financial, instructional, and faculty resources must be documented—course by course. This method insures governmental scrutiny and control, but while it emphasizes standards, it does so primarily through components that are easily measured and quantified (Klimes, 1978).

The national and public junior colleges are supported by the national, prefectural, and local governments. Tuition and fees accrued from the colleges are funneled back into the general fund of the government. The private colleges depend heavily upon tuition and fees for funding, which is inadequate for their needs. The financial difficulties of the private colleges account for their lower standards and lack of personnel and equipment (O'Connell, 1965).

In 1975, the Private School Subsidy Law established as its goal the subsidizing of one-half of all operating expenses of private colleges and universities. Subsidy is based on an evaluation of how well the institution fulfills the Ministry guidelines for higher education. The rationing of funds is a means of encouraging improvement and controlling institutional performance (Geiger, 1986).

Under the current system, 20% of the cost of a private junior college is subsidized by the national government. The government also provides loans to students through the Japan Scholarship Foundation. Approximately 9% of junior college students hold government loans, although 40% of graduate students do (O'Connell, 1965).

Despite government loans, parents bear most of the expense of sending their children to private schools because private schools in Japan do not enjoy the endowments of the American schools. Moreover, the tuition for junior college can be higher than that of a 4-year university.

Each student pays more than 5 times what the government allocates in support per student; therefore the relative government investment in private education is quite small (Kuroha & Kitamura, 1989).

The faculty at junior colleges need not be certified by the government nor do they need pedagogical training. They generally possess the master's degree but may have received appointments if, along with some kind of academic degree, they have recognition in research, experience in education, or technical ability. Appointment to a position is considered a civil service position governed by the same regulations and pay schedules as government employees. Most teaching assignments are fifteen hours a week, although part-time instructors may be carrying two full class schedules distributed over several schools. In 1974, 51.3% of the national junior college faculty were part-time, and 59% of the private junior college faculty were (Narita, 1978).

The private junior colleges are severely understaffed. In some colleges, classes are so crowded that several hundred students may be enrolled in one class. Under such circumstances, students receive little personal attention, if any (Narita, 1978).

Over 90% of the students in junior colleges are women, who tend to enroll immediately after completing secondary school. They generally come from upper middle-class families and can afford to attend the private junior college, which costs at least twice what it does at a public institution (O'Connell, 1965; Narita, 1978).

Like students at the American junior colleges, students at the Japanese junior colleges are considered by university admissions officers inferior in aptitude to university students. During the

spring examinations, referred to as "examination hell," all students sit for institutional examinations that determine the colleges or universities they can be admitted to. The best students gain entrance to the elite public universities, and private colleges, which are far less selective, admit students of lesser ranking. As a result, transfer with advanced standing from a junior college to a university is not encouraged, and few junior college students actually go on to the university. Therefore, the junior college is considered a terminal institution by almost all the students who attend.

COMPARISON WITH AMERICAN COMMUNITY COLLEGES. The Japanese junior college differs from the American community college in ways so substantial that the two institutions bear little resemblance to each other despite the efforts of the Educational Mission of the American Occupation. It may be said that both institutions provide postsecondary education of a duration shorter than the university and offer a curriculum of general education. Both institutions are also less stringent in entrance requirements than most universities. Indeed, in the educational hierarchy of the Japanese system, the public universities are very much at the pinnacle of the pyramid while the junior colleges lie at the base, scrambling for funds and whatever prestige they can acquire. The US community college occupies the same low position in the American higher education system in prestige and financial support.

American influences can be discerned in the collegiate credit system, the concept of distribution of credits along the lines of fields and disciplines, and the introduction of student services. Aside from these rather superficial likenesses, the Japanese junior college differs from the American in signal ways.

In fact, the hallmark of the American community college is conspicuously absent: the open-door admissions policy. Unlike an American college, which admits just about anyone eighteen years of age or older regardless of academic background, 50% of all applicants to a Japanese college are rejected on the basis of high school grades or low entrance examination scores (O'Connell, 1965). Whereas postsecondary education in the US has come to be regarded as an entitlement, attendance at the Japanese junior college is a privilege, one granted to those who have completed eleven years of secondary school if they can gain admittance to a junior college.

A major objective of the American college is the transfer function, which the Japanese colleges do not consider a crucial aspect of their mission. Their colleges are institutions of virtual terminal education, granting certificates and preparing students for state licensing. The American college grants the Associate in Arts and the Associate in Sciences degrees, which represent the completion of the first two years of a four-year university course of study. Transfer from an American community college to a four-year university, which is eased by articulation agreements, is scrutinized by state legislatures as a symbol of democratic class mobility.

Although state legislatures have a strong hand in the direction of the community colleges, they also provide the financial support of the predominantly public institutions. Public US community colleges charge the lowest fees of all sectors in higher education because inability to pay would present a barrier to access. The largest portion of community college revenues come from the state, followed by local property taxes. Federal funds support institutions predominantly through student aid programs. Endowments have not been a regular source of income. The

Japanese institutions also feel the strong hand of the government, but they are predominantly private institutions financed by tuition and government support of barely 20% of their costs. Despite the recent trend toward state centralization of US community college administration, local boards still manage the internal affairs of districts and their colleges. The close watch that the Japanese Ministry of Education keeps over its colleges would be considered unwelcome "micro-management" by US chancellors and trustees.

The governance of the Japanese junior college is, from an American point of view, tightly controlled by the Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture through its chartering procedures. The American community college, once chartered by the state and provided general guidelines, is relatively autonomous in planning its offerings, organizing its degree programs and certifications, and establishing its administration. The controlling factors for the American college are the state legislatures, which are generally non-specific in policy-making; state boards of the community colleges; the local boards of trustees; voluntary participation in accreditation reviews; and the consumer market. Authority and decision-making are more diffuse in the American system in that all levels are influenced by faculty senates, whose jurisdictions include curriculum, hiring, retention and promotion.

The curriculum of the Japanese junior college features general education, as does the American college, but it does not offer remedial instruction for the student who is unprepared for taking college-level general education courses. Since the Japanese junior colleges are far more selective than the American community college, their students have no need for correcting deficiencies. With the exception of its secretarial courses, the Japanese junior college also does

not include the technical and vocational training programs that characterize the American community college. The community college offers certificates in many "voc-tech" fields, which vary from one college to the next and reflect the responsiveness of the individual college to its community.

While the Japanese junior college does not provide technical training, the senmon gakko, or special training college, was established in 1976 as a vocational postsecondary institution. It requires graduation from upper secondary schooling but is open to anyone regardless of previous academic performance. In the two years since its inception, the percentage of high school graduates enrolling in special training colleges increased from 2.8% to 8.5%, in response to the increased diversification of jobs in the Japanese employment market and to the increased number of Japanese women interested in careers outside the home. The special training colleges provide courses of study that directly correspond to specialized occupational branches such as dental assistance, X-ray technology, data processing, para-medical technology, and acupuncture. Like the American community colleges, these technical institutes train its students for vocational occupations, are located for easy access to the greatest numbers of students, and have curricula adaptive to specific needs of the geographical area. Like the junior college, the technical institutes are designed to be terminal (Department, 1990; Kambayashi, 1978).

The Japanese junior college, then, does not include the vocational offerings of the American college. Nor does it take on the role of "culture-mart" and enrichment center for the community and its citizens, a role the American community college acquired in its transition from providing lower-division college instruction to its expansive community service function.

The Japanese college does not see itself as the focus of community activities nor as a service center for lifelong learning. Japanese lifelong learning activities are provided by commercial schools outside the purview of the Ministry and by companies that provide in-service for their employees (Minami, 1990).

In 1960 over half the instructors in the Japanese junior college were part-time; prior to 1990 over half the instructors in the American community colleges were part-time as well. Since 1990, in California at least, efforts have been made to reduce the cadre of part-time instructors through increased tenure-track hiring. The recent financial straits of the State and the nation as a whole may adversely affect an initiative that was warranted, long overdue, and now ill-timed. Like the Japanese junior colleges, minimum qualifications for a position at the American community college is usually the Master's degree in the discipline, although an increasing number possess the Ph.D.; for vocational programs, minimum qualifications are usually a Bachelor's degree and several years of professional experience. Tenured professors at the community colleges lecture fifteen hours a week or have some combination of lecture and laboratory, which is comparable to the Japanese fifteen-hour week.

The student population in Japan has consisted of a fairly homogeneous group of recent secondary school graduates. In the United States, community colleges serve the recent eighteen-year-old high school graduate but also accommodate the adult and continuing education student. A large proportion of the Japanese student body comes from the upper middle class, whereas over half the students at an American college come from lower economic strata. The factors of high socioeconomic status and selectivity contribute to the low attrition rates at the Japanese

college. Moreover, the Japanese institutions tend to be more lenient with their students; once they are admitted, they are sheltered by the college until graduation. Admission is more difficult than completion. In contrast, the high rate of attrition at community colleges in the United States has often been criticized. Only 9% of community college students receive the AA or the certificate annually (Cohen & Brawer, 1989).

One of the most remarkable differences between the Japanese junior college and the American community college is the gender distribution. Both men and women comprise the student body of the American college, while the Japanese junior colleges are overwhelmingly attended by women. Only slightly more men than women were enrolled in Japanese institutions of higher education in 1980 than in the previous 20 years, when college students were mainly men. The increase in college attendance by women is accounted for by the growth in the number of junior colleges. Thirty percent of the secondary school graduates who choose to continue with their education beyond high school go to a junior college: 90% of them are women. This phenomenon, which is a manifestation of the fundamental differences between the Japanese and American junior/community colleges, can be explained partly by the historical evolution of the junior college in Japan and partly by the demands of Japanese culture.

The historical development of the Japanese junior college and the special training schools began embryonically before the arrival of the "black ships" from Europe. Prior to 1868, educational opportunity in Japan paralleled the stratification of social classes. The members of the samurai, a privileged class who served as military officers and bureaucrats of the daimyo or feudal lords, were educated in private schools or by tutors. Temple schools taught by Buddhist

monks provided education for commoners; after two or three years of coeducational schooling, the girls were separated and channeled into domestic science (Paulson, 1976). The educational reforms of the Meiji Era, which took place after Japan's startled introduction to the western world in the late nineteenth century, created several types of institutions: the university preparatory schools, teacher training institutions, technical institutes for semi-professional employment, fine arts institutes, and women's seminaries. However, the prototypes of these institutions, with the exception of women's seminaries, had existed long before the nineteenth century. For example, the senmon gakko, known today as the special training institute, had been designated one of the four types of educational institutions by the eighth century civil code, the Taiho-ryo (O'Connell, 1965).

The realization that the key to modernization was education made it a priority for the Meiji government, which established the Education Ordinance in 1872 to raise the literacy of the populace. The new policy was realized by the creation of a tracking system that limited the academic track almost exclusively to men and the termination of the girls' track in secondary school. While such a policy now seems calculated to insure the inferiority of women, it represented a true reformation in its extension of education for girls beyond elementary school. Until 1871, any education a woman received beyond the elementary level was given in the home (Paulson, 1976).

Nevertheless, the tracking system provided unequal education for boys and girls. The purpose of girls' education was to make good wives and mothers while the boys were being educated for the business of serving the country. The level of education at the girls' high school

was on a par with the boys' middle school. The girls' high school curriculum placed emphasis on morality, the "cultivation of womanly virtues," and home economics. Graduates of the girls' high schools were eligible for teacher training at normal schools while boys could attend the universities, which were closed to women (O'Connell, 1965; Paulson, 1976).

Although women were historically excluded from higher education, several colleges were founded for women in the first half of the twentieth century. In 1900 a Christian missionary society founded Tsuda College and, within ten years, there were four women's universities, which offered women an education equivalent to the junior college. The majority of the sixty colleges established by 1940 were sponsored by missionary groups. The curriculum, however, stressed the social inferiority of women and the feudal image of the woman's place. Emphasis was placed on the arts, including the tea ceremony, languages and home economics. The transfer of women to the universities was so rare that these colleges were considered terminal. After World War II and the American recommendations for the extension of higher education to women, the women's colleges, or joshi senmon gakko, evolved into the contemporary junior college (Paulson, 1976; Rohlen, 1983).

Despite the educational reforms of 1945, including equal admission, comparable standards, and coeducation, education for women is still inferior to education for men. Home economics was first made an elective subject in the high schools in 1949 and then made compulsory for girls in 1956. The time and effort girls had to devote to the study of home economics put them at a distinct disadvantage in competition for university entrance. In 1976, an equal number of men and women were going on to higher education, but again on different

tracks. Ninety percent of the women went to junior college and less than 20% to four-year universities. Half of the junior college women enrolled—voluntarily—in home economics (Paulson, 1976).

Another reason for the development of the junior college as a kind of "ladies' finishing school" is the reinforcement by the Japanese culture of the idea of the woman's place outside the world of work. The codification of the inferiority of women may have taken place with the abolition of the Japanese matrilineal succession in the late eighth century (Paulson, 1976; Reischauer, 1989). Subsequently, the education of aristocratic women during the Heian period (794-1185) was limited to music, poetry, and penmanship. Buddhist priests from the Heian through the Kamakura period (1185-1333) taught that women were inherently evil, that they were agents of the devil who tried to lure men away from the precepts of Buddha. Although aristocratic women were especially useful during the Muromachi administration (1338-1500) to solidify clan holdings and military strength, the role of women was still duty and obedience. The neoconfucian scholar, Kaibara Ekken (1631-1714) wrote popular moral tracts about the role of women: despite her shallowness and stupidity, he says, she is entrusted with the major responsibility of the household. An official pronouncement of the Tokugawa era (1600-1868), which immediately preceded the Meiji, declared that the education of women was harmful and should not be encouraged (Paulson,).

The changes brought about by the Meiji enlightenment and the democratic American Occupation have provided greater educational opportunities for all Japanese, including women. However, since most Japanese woman still retain marriage as their ultimate goal, they do not see

themselves preparing for a lifetime career in the workplace but for a career as housewife and mother. Many women follow the traditional pattern of spending two years in college, working for a few years, and then getting married. The junior college diploma, considered a major social asset enhances their marriageability. As a matter of fact, a university degree is rather a disadvantage in a hierarchical society that demands superiority of the husband over the wife (Rohlen, 1983; O'Connell, 1965).

Men tend to avoid junior colleges because of the difficulty of transferring to a university, which is the apex of the educational system. The prestige and economic potential of a university education far outstrip what the junior college can promise: witness the repeated trials of secondary school graduates (called "ronin," or knights errant) at annual university entrance examinations (Rohlen, 1983). The men who are interested in professional skills training find the liberal arts curriculum of the junior college inadequate and attend the senmon gakko instead.

Historical and cultural factors also determined the divergent paths taken by the American community college and the Japanese junior college. Although the higher educational systems of both countries began with the establishment of institutions that became the elite learning centers of the nation, the American elite colleges were private while the Japanese ones were public, that is, established by the imperial government. In order for the United States government to develop the agricultural and industrial technologies to satisfy the needs of a growing nation, it could not expect to induce the private colleges to take on courses of study they would consider antithetical to their original missions. The US government therefore accelerated the creation of public institutions for national purposes through the Morrill Act of 1862. Its creation of land

grant colleges gave shape and direction to the characteristics of American higher education. Public colleges and universities did not abandon the liberal arts curriculum but offered an expanded variety of courses that included the study of more pragmatic areas of endeavor. In doing so, the government succeeded in extending educational opportunities to a larger and more heterogeneous, more representative, and geographically diverse student population than that served by the elite institutions.

The Japanese elite institutions, by virtue of their being government sponsored and maintained, were already viewed as the embodiment of national purposes. They had had a long tradition of serving the nation by providing professionals for the Japanese bureaucracy. The homogeneity of the Japanese, unlike the American composite of immigrant peoples, codified tradition and rigidified the culture so that the elite structure of higher education took on the aspect of eternal truth. While the ancient structure was maintained, it devolved upon the private sector to fill the pragmatic needs of the country. Even after the Meiji reformation and the American Occupation, the number of public institutions were inadequate in number and in kind for Japan's technological, industrial, and social needs.

The American community college grew out of a tradition of public provision of both general education and vocational training. The American ideal of equal opportunity raised expectations from mass education to universal education, creating the surge of demand that the community colleges absorbed. The Japanese community college, on the other hand, was a creation of the Educational Mission of the American Occupation. The concept of the tanki daigakku, or half-university, was adopted by the Japanese as an adjunct to the existing elite

system and a mechanism for the democratic egalitarianism urged by the Mission. The junior college, making no provisions for training in the vocations or technologies, became a two-year liberal arts college virtually without possibility of transfer to a university. The traditional avenue to a university remained the only one; men could not afford to jeopardize their employment opportunities by attending a junior college. Young women of the middle-class, however, the majority of whom did not expect to remain in the labor market very long before they married and became housewives, found an excellent opportunity to prepare themselves to be "half-university" educated wives of professional men. The major courses of study that eventually developed in the junior colleges were, not surprisingly, those that appealed to women—home economics, humanities, and elementary education.

The historical development of the Japanese educational system, in addition to the persistent Japanese cultural practice of gender hierarchy, gave rise to the peculiarities of the junior college in Japan. The divergent paths taken by the American and Japanese realizations of a similar concept indicate that national culture adapts what is borrowed from other countries. The attempt to transplant the junior college from the US to Japan supports observations that the product of cross-national fertilization is necessarily a hybrid; if it is not, only hothouse conditions can keep the non-native species alive.

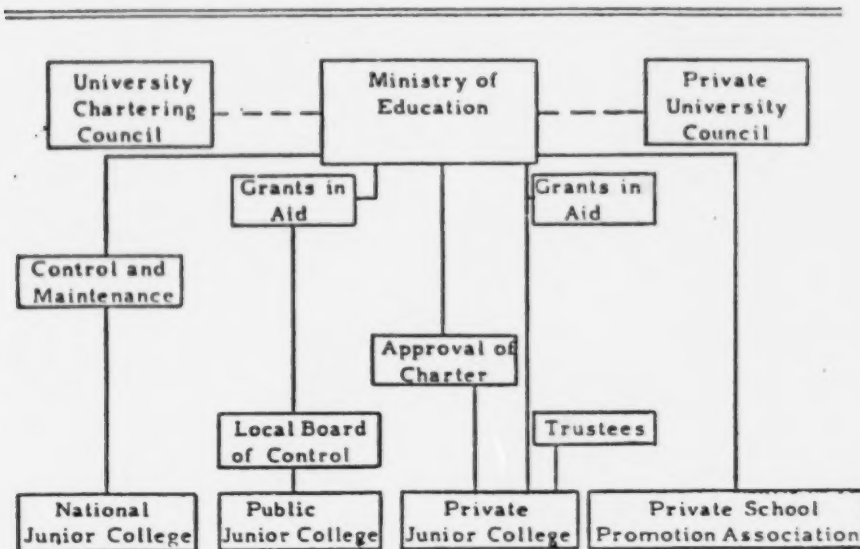
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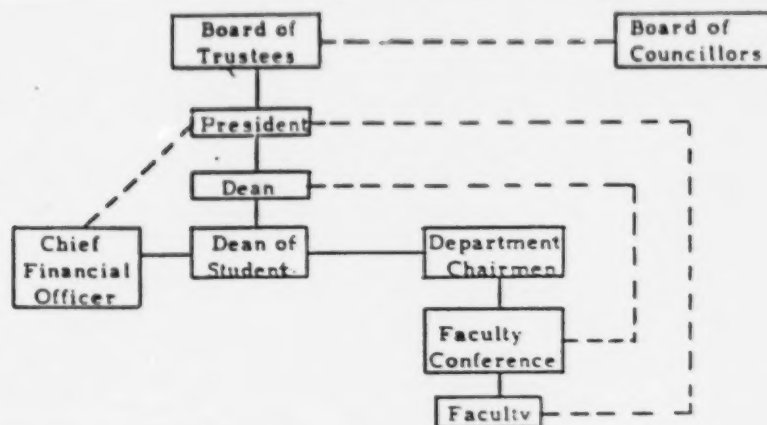
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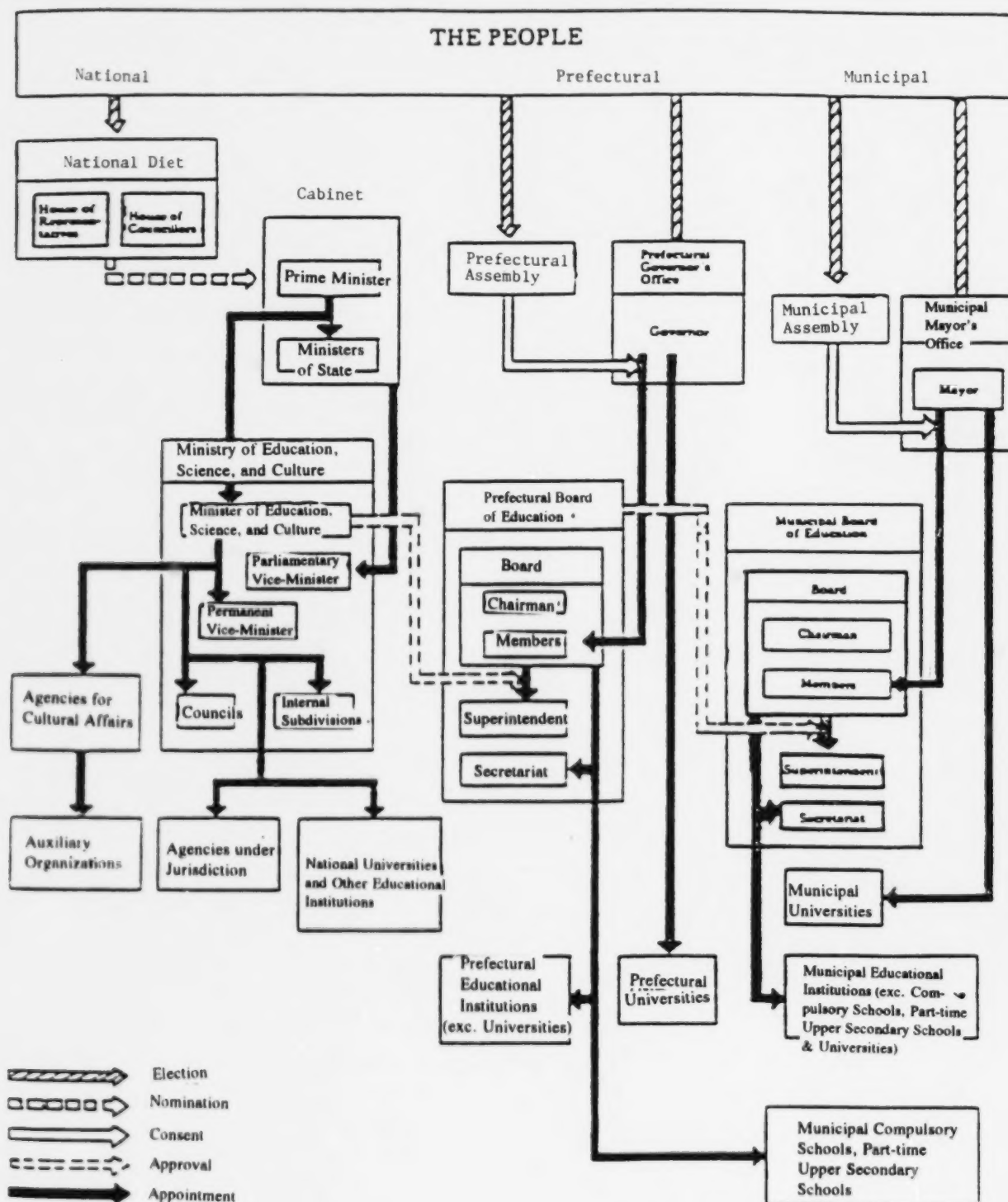
Chart 14. Junior College-Ministry of Education Relationship^a

^a Ministry of Education, Education in Japan: Graphic Presentation, 1959, p. 68.

Chart 15. A Typical Junior College Organization Chart^a

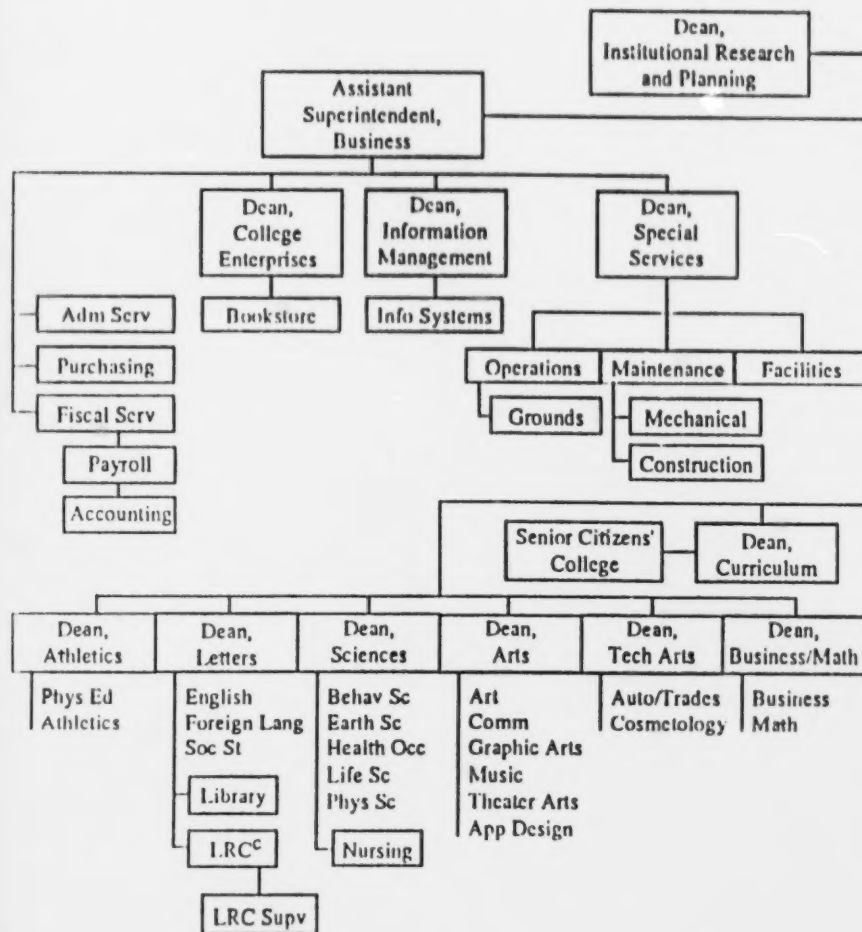
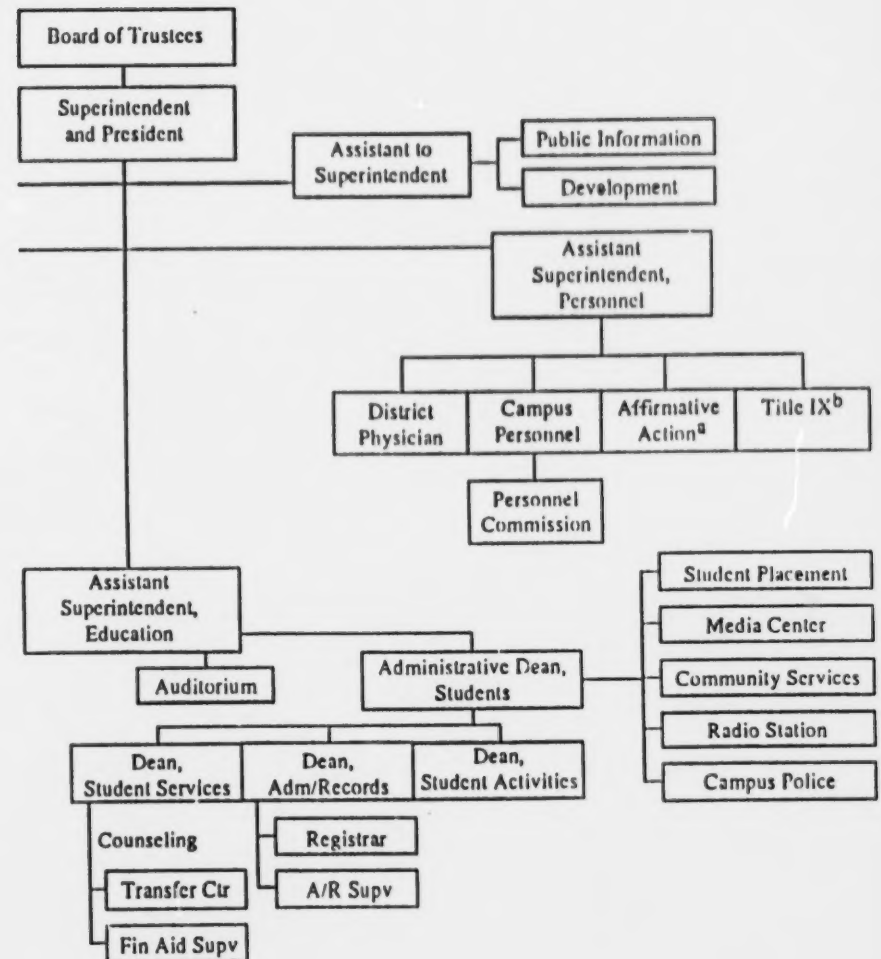
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CHART 6 STRUCTURE OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION



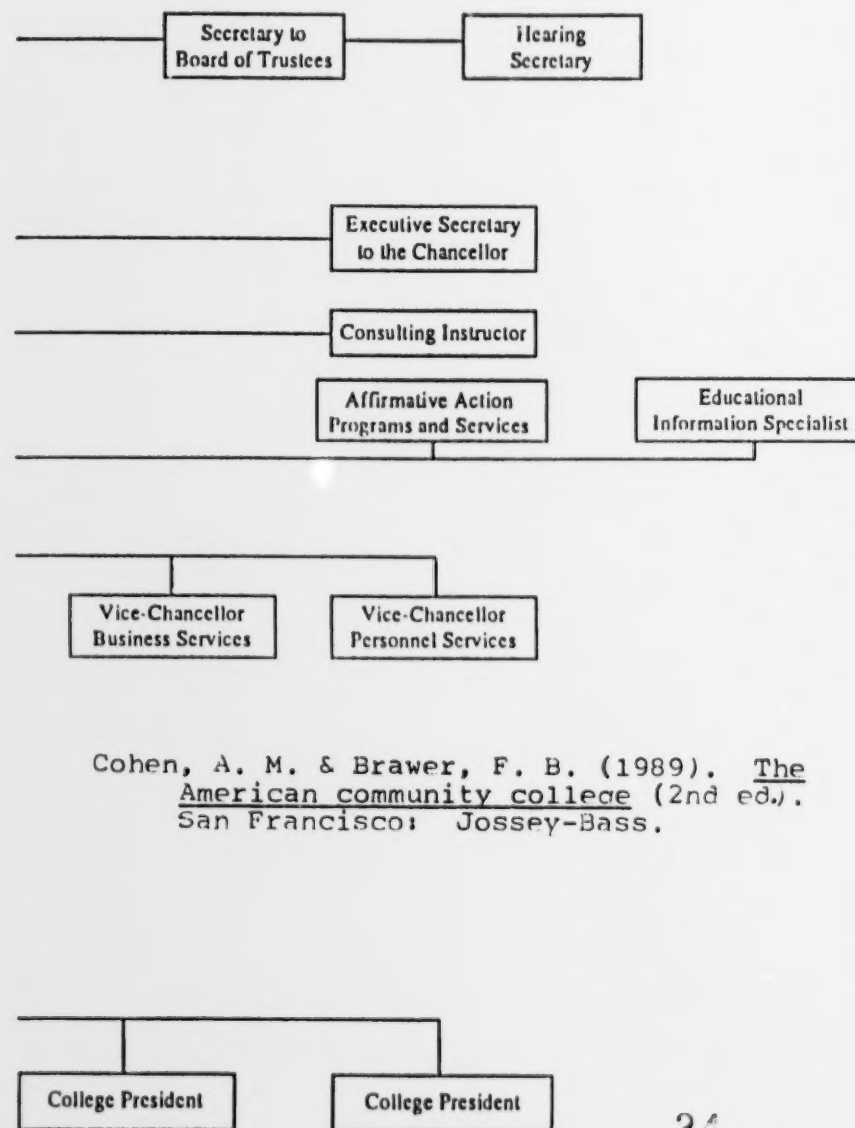
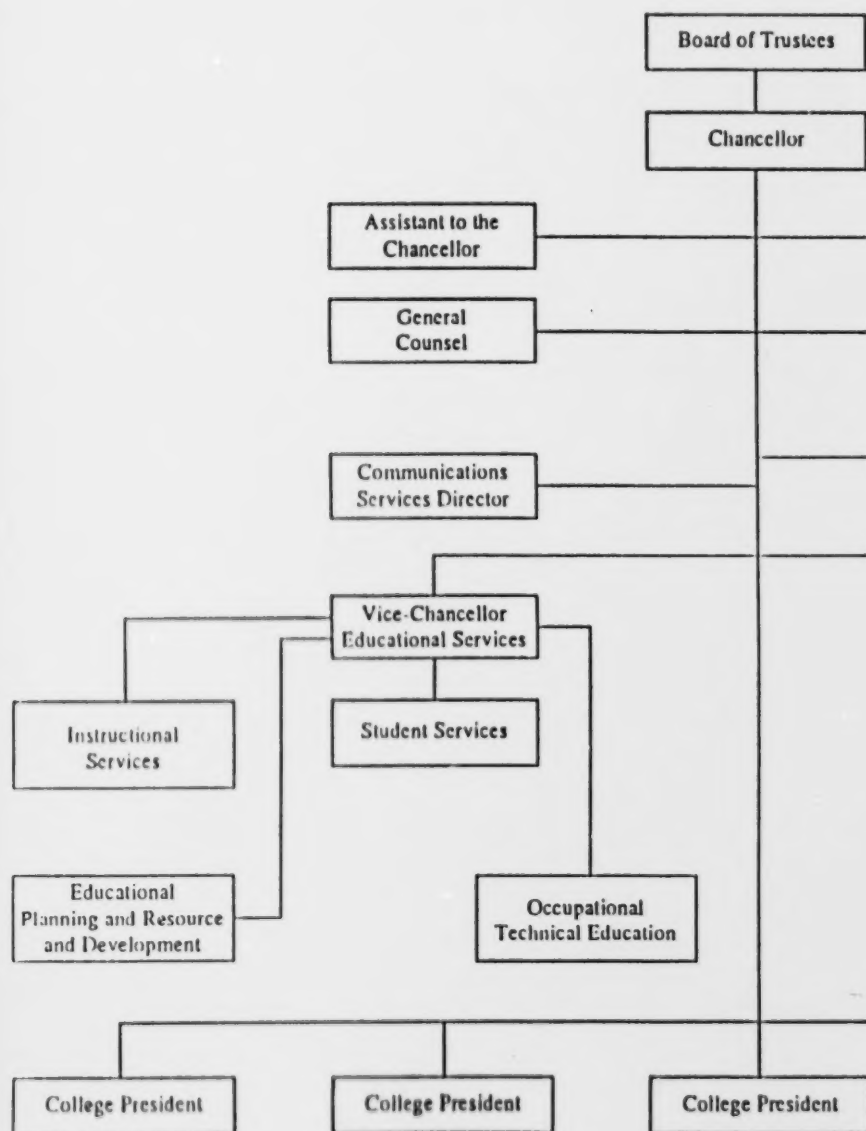
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Figure 2. Traditional Organization Chart for a Large Community College.

^a Affirmative Action / Dean, Student Services^b Title IX / Dean, Arts^c Learning Resource Center

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Figure 3. Organization Chart for a Multicollge District.



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